[5 cont.]

172 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafrican racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as certain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry, who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultivation and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake industries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafrican racial elements was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the
174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still unable to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially
[144] [154] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid -- Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, likewise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the conditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which resulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

• 105 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

[113] 1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No. 2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8 (135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okawango and the

ANGOLA !KUNG

[5 cont.]

105 Ninde. They have stopped collecting veldkost and confine themselves to hunting, exchanging the products for vegetables and the like from the Mabunda [Bunda] and Luchazi, with whom they have a dependent relationship. Their time divisions are the same as those among the !Kung in the south.

The Angola Bushmen have two or three wives. Some of the married couples were cousins.

Each household has a number of calabashes, a few baskets, and a clay pot. Wooden pestles are used for pounding the grain, as in the south.

Among the Bushmen of Kunzumbia, the ear lobes and nasal septum are pierced. All adult men have tattooing on the forehead with vertical lines between the eyes. Furthermore, on the arm and chest they wear so-called "flesh marks" (2) [6] to

[117]

2. These are also found in Ongandjera and along the Natakanako Pan.

record the big game they have killed. The women, too, are tattooed. As weapons, besides bows and arrows, they have the kirri and a short knife. Spears are rare. Ironware, of course, is obtained in trade from the Bantu for the most part, although the Bushmen in Musombu already have their own forge.

[114] The rain dance is described by Bleek just as I have witnessed it. The women and girls stand in a group on one side, singing and clapping their hands, while the men also sing, but do not clap, and perform rhythmic movements with the upper part of the body and arms. They sing:

//nwa-se //kabama //gu a i-i New moon, come out, give us water
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i New moon, thunder water down for us
//nwa-se tala u//gu a i-i New moon, throw water down for us.

For the boys' initiation, the candidates withdraw into the forest with three medicine men for a month. There they dance at night, and occasionally the spirit Huwe appears at the dance. There is also a girl's initiation, and at that time another spirit, //Gaua, is supposed to lead the dance. The tattooing of the girls is done in his honor.

ANGOLA !KUNG WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[6 cont.]

105 In their religious ideas, the moon plays the chief role. The new moon is supposed to be a child or a man; the full moon, a woman. They also say that the moon is the older sister, and the sun, the younger sister. Besides the moon, Huwe and //Gaua appear as mythical personages. Instead of Huwe, they also say //Nwa-se, "little new moon." Bleek believes that Huwe is the spirit of the forest, who causes the growth of trees and grass and thus also the growth of game, therefore determining the success or failure of the hunt. Whether or not Huwe is worshiped could not be determined. It is interesting to note what is said concerning //Gaua: "//Gaua is another being. The people from Ngami Lake give the word three meanings: dream, ghost, spirit. Among the Angola Bushmen it is used sometimes for ghost, and sometimes more impersonally. A woman said: When a person dies, a ghost (//Gaua) comes from his grave, which can be seen by the medicine men." Thunder and lightning come from //Gaua. The person struck by lightning becomes a star in the sky. The stars are the campfires of //Gaua. The Bushmen are supposed to be the children of //Gaua. He is a man who lives in the forest, and his home is a hole in the ground. An informant explained that //Gaua is equivalent to Ndjambi (god). There are two kinds of medicine men: those who can see the spirits, conduct the boys' initiations, and do the tattooing, while the second kind cures the sick.

Chapter 2

The Bushmen of the Western Otjimpolo Veld

122 In Shandi, among the eastern Ukuanjama [Kuanyama], I was able to establish contact with the Bushmen through the kindness of the Resident, Mr. Eaddes, and of the native pastor, Paulus.
101 In part, these Bushmen were genuine !Kung, who said they were the same as those from Karakowisa, with whom, however, a fruitful understanding was impossible; and in part they were people who called themselves !Kung, but, judging by their language and customs, are southern Bushmen of Amboland. They themselves say that their fathers came from Ongandjera. The following

!KUNG

[753] 157 [23 cont.] THE SICK BUSHMEN LIE SILENT AND patient, but a case of illness in a village upsets all its members, partly out of compassion, and partly out of fear of the spirits of sickness. The modes of conduct that I have described already permit certain conclusions concerning the structure of the psychological personality among the Bushmen. It is certainly impossible to compare the mental set of an intellectualized, highly domesticated European with that of these primitive hunters. There is absolutely no difference, however, between the simple European and the natives in their conception of life and their manner of 105 182 reacting to environmental influences. As I have already explained in another place, we may speak of a law of inertia in cultural development (1). The primitive man is perfectly aware, perhaps

1. V. Lebzelter, "Persönlichkeit und Weltanschauung bei den Eingeborenen Südwestafrikas Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Leogesellschaft, 1932.

instinctively, perhaps by tradition, that the quantity of energy possessed by every individual is limited and that each expenditure of energy means wear on the life machine and, hence, the shortening of life. The individual, therefore, strives to attain, with the least possible expenditure of energy, what to his mind represents an optimal adaptation to the conditions of life, and to maintain this state of adaptation with the least possible expenditure of energy. The great difference between European civilization and many primitive cultures, including that of the Bushmen, lies in the fact that European culture as a whole finds itself in an unstable condition, which makes the attainment of an optimal state of adaptation possible to only a few of its members. Bushman culture, on the other hand, represents an optimal state of adaptation that can be automatically attained by each individual Bushman. In its way, therefore, it is more perfect than ours. No other people and no other race, given the same technical means and the same environmental conditions, could achieve a better adaptation. One can even speak of such an adaptation with respect to the spiritual culture. The life of the Bushman is made secure in this life

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

MASARWA OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
●105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY.

OKOVONGGO BUSHMEN
NOGAU

[65 cont.]

and racial mixture is progressing rapidly. The Bugakwe live in five villages with 220 persons in the western Okovanggo Valley down from the Mahango ford and are in bondage to Libebe, with whom, however, they frequently have quarrels over the amount of deliveries; on the occasion of one such dispute in June, 1905, a Mambukuschu was killed by an arrow. The Garikwe live in eight villages with 430 souls in eastern Ärmellande from the Paliba Swamp to the beginning of the valley, while the Goekwe live in southern Ärmellande west of the river course. Concerning the latter, I found only a winter village with 90 souls, and that north of the mouth of the Namassere on a river island.

"The Goekwe might well be identical with Passarge's Gokwe, whose territory extends from the western edge of the Tauche swampland deep into the Kaukau Veld; the Tschorilo Mountains belong to them. During the rainy season the Tannekwe undertake hunting expeditions in the neighboring steppes. The Hukwe, whose number I estimate at at least 600, are less racially mixed than the Tannekwe, but likewise live in settled villages, from which during the dry season they swarm out in family groups to gather or hunt in the forest steppe as the need arises."

Chapter 8

The Nogau Bushmen of Epukiro

During my stay in the mission station of Epukiro, I had an opportunity for closer contact with the Bushmen who live in a kind of symbiosis with the Betschuana (2). They call themselves Nogau,

2. I have given a detailed report on the Europeanized Betschuana village of Epukiro in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 65 (1933).

specifically ǂno /gna !khou, that is, people who live by the water. They are farther north of the Omuramba Epukiro toward Alexeck. North of them are the Gai-kwe, and the !Kung are farther east and

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard.

Our principal study was made with the /Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide.

We chose the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely self-reliant

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the /Kung of Nyae Nyae, /Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Naron near Ghanzi, B. P.; /Kõ at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukudu. We studied the kinship terminology of the /Kõ and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the /Kõ language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group.

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

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128 Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,
601 but they do not illustrate a typical family. No Bushman family we know has as many
162 living children as in Diagram 4. Bushmen are completely nomadic and must carry
105 their young children and all their possessions, walking seventy or eighty miles or
847 more as they move from one wild crop of roots or nuts to another. They limit, by infanticide, the number of infants to those they can carry and care for. ≠Toma, one of our informants, helping me one day to construct one of these hypothetical illustrations, laughed and said, 'Who is this who has so many children? Is it an ostrich?'

DIAGRAM 2

601 In this illustration ego's */gu/na* is his FaFa. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the So and Da of his */gu/na*. They and ego use the adjacent generational terms, *tsu* and *//ga*, for each other.

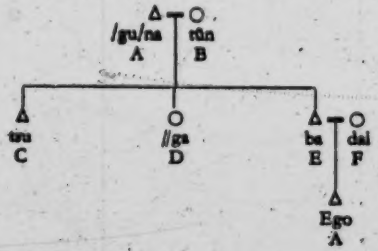
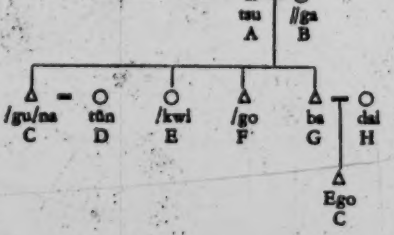


DIAGRAM 3

Here ego is named for his FaBr. In this case ego's FaFa is ego's */gu/na*'s Fa and ego's FaMo is his */gu/na*'s Mo; *tsu* and *//ga* are the terms used. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the Br and Si of ego's */gu/na*; the sibling terms are used. Ego applies the term *tũn* to the wife of his */gu/na*.



Diagrams 2 and 3 illustrate ego's application of terms to members of his */gu/na*'s family. Letters represent names. A person who is designated by the same letter as a person in a generation above him has been named for that person. The naming is customary and correct as far as it goes. Some of the children would be named for their mother's parents or siblings, but, as those persons would be ego's affines, until the affinal terms are given this aspect of the illustrations will be postponed.

There is a secondary application of the terms originally applied by ego to members of his */gu/na*'s nuclear family and spouse. Ego applies terms to persons who are named for the latter, and continues during his lifetime applying to persons descending from

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

method had been established. The /Kõ and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term *!gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, ' big or old name '. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tũn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later *!gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term */go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

N/OW

LORNA MARSHALL

821 *N/ow*[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

132 About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water
137 holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

105 The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are
821 nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

132 Summer is the season of the ' big rains ' in the western Kalahari. ' Little rains '—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The ' big rains ' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

821 The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */now*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call */ga kwe disi*—*//ga* means cloud or rain, *disi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwesi* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

[532] Rain itself is male and female, */ga /go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and covering it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, ' You are doing very well ', or, ' Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

[2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

[3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which occurs very often. It seemed sometimes to be a sort of article and we did not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1936), records in the Auen or //K"au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase */ga -k"wisi*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung */ga* and *//ga* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *//ga kwe disi*.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

609 pering in the grass near by. You can tell by these werfs that
621 there are Bushmen in an area, and also by their footprints on narrow trails which they share with the game and which run all through the desert. You may find footprints or you
[373] may see a little pile of white ash, the fire that a Bushman kindled where he spent the night. Otherwise, to find them you must depend on luck or on the fact that the Bushmen of an area may have heard something good about you and will not be too afraid.

105 Culturally and historically, the Bushmen are an interesting people, for they and the Hottentots, who belong to the same racial and language groups, are the earliest human inhabit-
[161] ants still living in southern Africa. There are now from thirty to fifty thousand Bushmen, who are divided into several lan-
[197] guage groups. Their languages are related to each other and to the Hottentot language, and are in what is known as the Khoisan language group, made up of most of the click languages spoken in South Africa. A click language has sharp pops and clicks made with the tongue in various parts of the mouth, combined with an implosion of the breath, very diffi-
[194] cult to understand, harder still to pronounce, as the slightest mistake may change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, the work *//kx'a*, which in one of the Bushman languages means *mangetti*, a certain kind of nut-bearing tree, is pronounced by making a lateral click for which the tongue is pulled sharply away from the sides of the mouth, producing the click one makes when calling a horse, followed by a scraped *k* turning to a *g*, followed by a glottal stop—a slight pause or tiny choking sound made as the back of the tongue stops the breath—which is followed at last by the vowel. To make a mistake is easy, and that is why non-Bushmen have a hard time learning the language, and why, when they do learn, they are often misunderstood.

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal objects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the making of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes, cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen, who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place, cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

105 361 the veld, changing their abode every few days in search of food. Because of their way of life, they do not need villages to live in, so they rarely bother to build strong scherms, making small domes of grass for themselves instead, just a little shade for their heads, grass which the wind soon blows away. Sometimes they do not even bother with this, but push little sticks into the ground to mark their places. They sleep beside the sticks and arrange their few possessions around them, symbols of their homes.

105 361 823 [621] Although Bushmen are a roaming people and therefore seem to be homeless and vague about their country, each group of them has a very specific territory which that group alone may use, and they respect their boundaries rigidly. Each group also knows its own territory very well; although it may be several hundred square miles in area, the people who live there know every bush and stone, every convolution of the ground, and have usually named every place in it where a certain kind of veld food may grow, even if that place is only a few yards in diameter, or where there is only a patch of tall arrow grass or a bee tree, and in this way each group of people knows many hundred places by name. Even if you are traveling randomly with Bushmen and ask at any time on the journey for the name of the place where you happen to be standing, they will probably be able to tell you. They themselves always like to know exactly where they are.

105 621 The social structure of Bushmen is not complicated. They have no chiefs or kings, only headmen who in function are virtually indistinguishable from the people they lead, and sometimes a band will not even have a headman. A leader is not really necessary, however, because the Bushmen roam about together in small family bands rarely numbering more than twenty people. A band may consist of an old man and his wife, their daughters, the daughters' husbands, perhaps an

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bushmen are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and children, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands are always breaking up and recombining with other small bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as the news spread that we were friendly, more and more people came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

133 open and tilting, but the low hills and the forests veiled the great sweep of country, and the sun, the moon, and the horizon.

105 As soon as we were there we felt very familiar, very at 184 home. We knew quite a lot about Kung Bushmen, who in ways are different from Gikwe Bushmen—as the country is not as harsh, the Kung are a little grander, living together in larger numbers because they have veld food more abundantly, a little more extravagant with their time and their possessions. They build themselves grass huts or scherms, at least during the rains, and though they know vast sections of their country perfectly, being quite sure of the whereabouts of game and certain of the whereabouts of different types of veld food, they do not have to memorize the whereabouts of each root individually and store this information in their minds for future seasons, as the Gikwe do. The Kung are diligent and powerful hunters, although in some respects their country is harder to hunt in than the land of the Gikwe, more overgrown with brush and trees. But the Kung have metal-tipped arrows and complicated poison, and the men make a point of hunting often and well because their people love meat.

312 We knew their rolling veld with its baobab trees and hidden waters, for in Nyae Nyae the people do not have to scrape roots and suck melons, but are the possessors of deep waterholes where they can drink clear water almost all year long. We knew which stalks among the grass blades marked edible roots, and where game antelope might be found.

823 We knew not only the veld but the beings that live in the 776 sky above it, and knew the beings under the earth and in the four directions. We knew where the great god lives in the east with his tree and his medicine smoke with which he makes spirits of the dead from dead people. We knew his names, for

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǂka in **ǂkaihe** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǂkai** "together". **He** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǂkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **ǂkáŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

[Text Continues on page 70]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

105 [161] keep the numbers down. No one has a large number of uncles and aunts, or cousins. There is not a large public, whose opinion would enforce keeping laws strictly. Individual liberty is therefore far greater than can be the case with any tribe with large numbers living in crowded villages. Extremes meet, and we find in the most primitive society a family life far nearer our own than in many intermediate stages. The woman is her husband's partner rather than his property. The family consists of parents and children, and breaks up with the parents' death. There are no chiefs: society is ruled not by law, but by custom interpreted by individual sense of fitness. A very few things are felt to be wrong, everything else is permitted. The Bushman is first and last a lover of liberty.

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Identification

The Auen (//k'au//en) are a Bushman tribe. Their language belongs to the Northern division of the Bushman branch of the Khoisan or Click linguistic family.

Basic Economy

The economy is based primarily and about equally on hunting and gathering. There is no agriculture or animal husbandry.

Sex Division of Labor

The men hunt. The women gather.

Property

Each band owns collectively a definite hunting territory. Inheritance is patrilineal--by ElSo.

Social Stratification

Both slavery and class stratification are absent.

Marriage

A bride-price is lacking. A groom gives gifts of gamé, etc., to the bride's parents--a sort of bride-service--over a period of about a year. Polygyny is common, but monogamy prevails near Rietfontein. Each co-wife has a separate hut.

Family

The polygynous family is the normal residential unit; or perhaps the nuclear family.

Residence

The matri-patrilocal rule prevails. A man resides with his wife's band for some time, even until the birth of the first child, but then removes to his own band.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

There is a definite tendency toward local exogamy.

105

Cousin marriages are permitted.

Descent is bilateral. Unilinear kin groups are absent.

Kinship Terminology

Fa--ba. Mo--tai. Ch--!hã. Br--tsĩ. Si--tsitsi. Hu--!kwã. Wi--dzou.

Avuncular terms are basically bifurcate collateral, nepotic terms lineal.

Cousin terms are of Eskimo type.

Settlement Pattern

The Auen live in migratory bands. The typical dwelling is a wind-break consisting of a few branches stuck in the ground in a semicircle, tied at the top with twigs, and roofed with grass.

Community Organization

Socially, a band approximates the structure of a patri-deme.

Local Government

Each band has a headman, who is a war leader but exercises only slight authority.

State

There is no political integration above the local level.

Warfare

The Auen are warlike.

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105

Identification

The Heikum [Hei-//om] include various groups of Bushmen adjacent to or interspersed among the Ambo, and much mixed with and acculturated to the latter. They speak Nama Hottentot rather than Bushman.

Basic Economy

Hunting and gathering only except where Bantuized, with vegetable food rather more important than game. The Daman group, adjacent to the Ambo cultivate a little and tend a few goats.

Sex Division of Labor

The men hunt; the women gather. Among the Daman, the women keep gardens and boys tend goats.

Marriage

No true bride-price; the groom makes small presents to the bride's parents. Among the Daman the groom provides a few goats or an ox for the wedding feast.

Polygyny is general. The co-wives may or may not be related. Each wife has her own hut.

Family

Presumably polygynous families are the norm.

Residence

Initial matrilocal residence for a few months. On taking a second wife, a man sets up a household of his own. Permanent residence is patrilocal (perhaps neolocal).

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy prevails.

Fourie says marriage is forbidden with a sister, a niece, and any first cousin. For the Daman, Lebzelter reports marriage permitted with any cousin except FaSiCh; this dubious. For the Bushmen in the western Ambo country, Lebzelter reports marriage permitted with FaSiDa, forbidden with MoSiDa, probably forbidden with FaBrDa and MoBrDa.

Bilateral descent is probable. Fourie reports that there are no unilinear restrictions on marriage.

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Kinship Terminology

[Terms by Werner and Lebzelter, the latter in brackets; Lebzelter's terms are for the Bushmen deep in western Ambo territory.]

Fa--ombā [//khum-khe]. So--daba !oma [a χ'oroh-khe]. Da--daba !tsauma [χ'ams-khe]. Mo--mdei [//khums]. Br--tsng [!gasab]. Si--tsau tsng [di !gas-khe]. Hu--tschu n!o [aubā]. Wi--tsau [tarás].

GrFa--omba n!ā ("old Fa"). GrMo--tschau !ā ("old woman"). FaBr--[di khoáb-khe]. MoSi, FaBrDa, MoBrDa, BrWi, WiSi--[//khum khoás]. FaSi--[di-khoaba].

FaBrSo--[awób !garis-khe]. MoBrSo--[!góa khoaba].

Settlement Pattern

Migratory bands. Huts pitched in a circle around a large tree, with a sacred fire nearby. The band wanders seasonally, but has a permanent camp site near a main water source. The hut is a semicircle of branches planted in the ground and covered with grass. Werner mentions dome-shaped, grass-covered huts.

Community Organization

The band includes people related in various ways to the headman. One sketched by Fourie included huts of sisters, of brothers, of daughters, and of other band members. Lebzelter speaks of exogamous "Sippen."

Local Government

Each band has its own territory and headman. Lebzelter reports succession by ElSiElSo, but Schapera doubts this unless as a result of Ambo influence.

State

No political organization above the band level.

Warfare

There are blood feuds over trespass, theft, and adultery.

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105

Identification

The Hiechware (Masarwa, Tati) inhabit Bechuanaland, the Kalahari Desert, and adjacent Southern Rhodesia. They live mainly among the Tswana, who employ them as hunters, trappers, and herders. Their huts are made of branches stuck in the ground in a semicircle, laced or tied together at the top, and covered with grass or skins (occasionally with mats). They speak a Khoisan language of the Central division.

Basic Economy

Hunters and gatherers. No agriculture is practiced, nor are any domestic animals kept: Fishing is done where possible.

Sex Division of Labor

Men hunt and fish; women do most of the gathering.

Marriage

No bride-price. A groom catches a large animal and presents it to bride's Fa. Postmarital bride-service is performed.

Monogamy predominates, but some polygyny occurs.

Family

The isolated nuclear family is the norm.

Residence

A groom resides for 2-3 years with his WiFa, doing postmarital bride-service. Thereafter residence is inferentially patrilocal.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy apparently is not prescribed. "A man can take another woman of the same clan, but she must not have the same totem as himself."

The Hiechware have "totems" (presumably patrilineally inherited), especially where they are in closest contact with the dominant Tswana tribes, from whom unilinear descent has presumably been borrowed. Comparative Bushman data indicates that unilinear descent is not aboriginal.

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Kinship Terminology

Fa--bae. Mo--mae (mara or mashe for "my Mo"). Br--chwaho. Br(w.s.)--gweke. Si (w.s.)--gweke. So or Ch--/gwa. Da--//gai /kwa. Hu or Wi--//gaicho.

Avoidance of WiMo.

Settlement Pattern

Nomadic bands, which are small, rarely numbering more than 4 families.

Community Organization

The band is not a kin-community, for "In the same clan there might be several different totem families."

State

There are no tribal organization or paramount chiefs. The Hiechware are mostly dependents of the Tswana.

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•105

Identification

The Kung (!kung) Bushmen, embracing the Agau, Nogau, and /kungau tribes, belong to the Northern branch of the Bushman subfamily of the Khoisan linguistic stock. They are closely akin to the Auen. Wilhelm estimates their population as between 3,000 and 4,000. Men average 155-160 centimeters in stature, women 140-150.

Basic Economy

Agriculture and animal husbandry are lacking. Subsistence depends primarily on hunting (with poisoned arrows) and gathering (of roots, termites, etc.). There is a very little fishing.

Sex Division of Labor

Hunting is done by men alone, gathering largely by women.

Property

Each band has its own territory, which is collectively owned.

Wilhelm reports patrilineal inheritance, with the ElSo as chief heir. Older sources, however, say that most of a man's possessions are buried with him but that his brother inherits his bow and arrows.

Social Stratification

Slavery and social classes are absent.

Marriage

Infant betrothal is common. Premarital license not permitted. Few gifts are exchanged, and there is no bride-price or other property transaction, but postmarital bride-service is required. Girls marry before puberty, boys much later, when they have become hunters.

Wife lending occurs, but there are no licensed sex relationships. The first wife has a slightly higher status. Sororate and levirate are preferential, but secondary unions are forbidden with a parent- or child-in-law, the spouse of an avuncular or nepotic relative, BrWiMo, SoWiSi, WiBrWi, HuSiHu.

Family

The household unit is a nuclear family.

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Residence

A newly married couple live with the bride's family for a year or more, shifting to the groom's band after the birth of the first child.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy prevails.

There are exogamous kindreds, embracing ascendants, descendants, siblings of parents, children of siblings, and first, second, and third cousins.

Descent is bilateral. Except for exogamous bands (patri-demes) there are no unilinear kin groups. For the Kung of Otjimpoland, Lebzelter reports that marriage is forbidden into the band of either parent.

Kinship Terminology [terms from Marshall except B for Bleek, L for Lebzelter, W for Werner]

Fa--ba [also B], mba [L], omba [W]. Mo--dai, tai [B], medei [W], aiya [address], aje [L]. ElBr--!go, //kò [B]. YoBr, YoSi--tsi, sing [B], tsng [W]. ElSi--!kwi, //khuǂ [B]. So--!ha, //ha [B]. Da--ǂkhai, ǂxe [B]. Hu--!hoa, !kao [B], tschu n!o [W]. Wi--tsau, zau [B], tschau [W].

FaBr, MoBr, MoSiHu, FaSiHu--tsu, tsung [B], mzu [L]. MoSi, FaSi--//ga. BrSo, SiSo, HuBrCh, WiBrCh--tsuma (der.), txu //gama [B]. GrFa(m.s.), elder male cousin--!gu!na, !ku/nue [B]. GrFa(w.s.)--tun!ga. GrMo--ton. GrSo--!guma, gama //ge [B]. GrDa--toma. GrSo(w.s.)--tun!gama, txu//gama [B]. WiFa, HuFa, DaHu--ǂtum, ǂkum [B]. WiMo, HuMo, SoWi--/utsu.

Grandparental terms used for all cousins. The kinship system is thus of Eskimo type. This is, however, obscured by the naming pattern [see special sheets]. All relationships are associated with permissible joking on sexual matters or with the prohibition of such joking [see special sheets].

Settlement Pattern

The Kung live in migratory bands, which average about 25 persons. In temporary camps they erect their huts in a circle or semicircle around a dancing place. Dwellings are round in ground plan and

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hemispherical or conical in shape, consisting of boughs set in the ground in a circle, tied together at the top, and covered with grass.

Community Organization

The band is a patri-deme. Genital mutilations are inferentially absent.

Local Government

Each band has an old man as a leader. Lebzelter alone reports that headship is hereditary from Fa to So and is associated with tending a sacred fire.

State

There is no political integration above the local level.

Warfare

Interband feuds occur, but there has been no war for a century. The Kung feud with the Heikum.

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105

Identification

The Namib Bushmen include the following tribes: /geinin, //obanen, /koma, ǂganin, /huinin. They all speak the Nama Hottentot language.

Basic Economy

Exclusively hunters and gatherers. Wander in Namib desert in wet season; stay in mountains in dry season. Practice no agriculture or animal husbandry.

Sex Division of Labor

The men hunt; the women gather.

Property

Waterholes and specific territories are collective band property. Inheritance by widow; after her death by ElSo.

Social Stratification

War captives kept as semi-slaves. No noble class. Schmidt says no slavery.

Marriage

Presents of game, skins, etc. to girl's parents, but no true bride-price.

Trenk and Lebzelter report strict monogamy. Seydel reports polygyny; Schmidt reports limited polygyny with never more than 2 wives (in one hut).

Family

Nuclear family the norm.

Residence

Patrilocality prevails.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

No rule of local exogamy.

Marriage permitted with first cousins; forbidden with siblings.

1: Murdock--13 E-4 (No date) 1958 F1 Africa
Bushmen FX10
Namib

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The "sibs" reported by some authors are probably only bands (Schapera).

Kinship Terminology

Fa, WiFa, HuFa--dadáb. Mo, WiMo, HuMo--mamas. Grandfather--//naob.

Settlement Pattern

Migratory bands. Dwellings chiefly caves and rock shelters; some rude huts.

Community Organization

Bands include related families (Schmidt); Lebzelter remarks on supra-family bands.

Local Government

Hereditary local headmen. Succession by any son selected by household heads.

State

No paramount chiefs or political organization transcending the band.

Warfare

Cattle stealing reported.

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105

Identification

The Naron (//aikwe), with whom are included the Tsaukwe, Tsonokwe, ǂamkwe, and !giŋkwe, belong to the Central Bushman division of the Khoisan linguistic stock.

Basic Economy

The Naron are hunters and gatherers without agriculture or animal husbandry. Their staple foods are game and wild vegetables. They even had no dogs originally.

Sex Division of Labor

The men hunt; the women gather.

Property

Each band has its own collective territory, which any member can exploit.

A man's personal possessions are buried with him.

Social Stratification

There is no slavery or significant social stratification.

Marriage

Marriage is nominally by capture, but almost always there is a preliminary arrangement with the girl's family involving presents of large game.

Limited and preferably sororal polygyny prevails. Co-wives live in one hut if they agree well; otherwise in separate huts.

Family

The nuclear family is the residential norm.

Residence

Matri-patrilocal residence prevails. The young couple normally resides with the groom's family for a few months, then with the bride's family until the birth of the first child, thereafter permanently in the groom's band. Permanent matrilocal residence occurs in some instances.

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Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy is the rule.

Marriage is permitted with any first cousin, though such unions are infrequent.

Descent is bilateral.

Kinship Terminology [Bleek]

Fa--//kub, auba. Mo--//kusha. So--//kuba. Da--kusha. Hu--hoba. Wi--hosha.

Bifurcate collateral avuncular and nepotic terms.

Settlement Pattern

The Naron live in migratory bands. Huts are constructed of branches set in the ground in a semicircle with the tops bent and tied together and thatched with grass.

Community Organization

The band is apparently a patri-deme in structure.

Local Government

There are local headmen, normally succeeded by a son.

State

There is no political integration above the level of the band.

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105

Identification

The Xam (Cape Bushmen, /xam) are a Bushman tribe speaking a language of the Southern division of the Bushman branch of the Khoisan or Click linguistic family.

Basic Economy

Subsistence is achieved primarily by hunting and gathering, supplemented by some fishing. Agriculture is lacking, and the dog is the only domesticated animal.

Sex Division of Labor

Hunting is done by men, gathering by women.

Social Stratification

Slavery and differentiated social classes are lacking.

Marriage

A true consideration is lacking. Marriage is arranged by gifts, especially game secured for the wedding feast. There is postmarital matrilocal bride-service.

Limited polygyny prevails. Bleek reports monogamy, but the early sources clearly indicate that some polygyny occurred.

Family

The normal residential unit is apparently an independent nuclear family.

Residence

Residence is initially matrilocal, with bride-service, for a considerable period. Permanent residence is apparently optionally matrilocal or patrilocal.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Marriage is permitted with any first cousin, but such unions are infrequent.

Descent is bilateral. Unilinear kin groups are absent.

105

Kinship Terminology

Fa--oa. Mo--xoa. So--Θpw>ŋ. ~Da--Θpwaxai. Br--//kã. Si--//kaxai. Hu--/ha. Wi--/aiti.

Avuncular terms are apparently bifurcate collateral. Nepotic terms are descriptive and thus bifurcate collateral.

Cousin terminology is probably, though not certainly, of Hawaiian type.

Settlement Pattern

The Xam live in migratory bands. Though caves and rock shelters are often used, the typical habitation is a simple windbreak of branches stuck in the ground in a semicircle and covered with grass or grass mats.

Local Government

Each band has a nominal headman, inferentially with little authority.

State

There is no political organization above the local level.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Chapter I

THE COUNTRY OF THE KHOISAN

By the year 1652, when the establishment of the pioneer Dutch settlement at Table Bay laid the foundations for the present political dominance of the white man in the country, Africa south of the Zambesi River was already inhabited by a considerable number of different native peoples. On the basis of racial, linguistic and cultural distinctions, these native inhabitants are customarily classified into four separate groups, known respectively as the Bushmen, the Hottentots, the Bergdama, and the Bantu.

The Bushmen, at one time spread over almost the whole of South Africa, are to-day confined principally to the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and adjacent districts. They are a short, brownish-yellow people, with certain peculiar and distinctive racial characteristics; they all speak languages of a uniform and easily recognizable type, phonetically remarkable especially for the great prevalence of "click" consonants; and they live in small nomadic bands which lead a purely hunting and collecting existence, practising neither agriculture nor pastoralism.

The Hottentots formerly occupied most of the western half of the region, but are now found chiefly in the southern parts of South-West Africa. They are closely allied to the Bushmen in race, and their languages are of a somewhat similar type, although in both respects certain differences are also observable. They are, however, a predominantly pastoral people, keeping cattle and sheep, and live in larger communities with a more complex system of social organization.

The Bergdama, also inhabiting South-West Africa, are racially a true negro people, different in appearance from both the Bushmen and the Hottentots. They all, however, speak the language of the Nama division of Hottentots, to whom they have long been in subjection. Like the Bushmen they live in very small nomadic groups and derive their subsistence primarily from hunting and collecting, although some of them also keep goats.

The Bantu, finally, although historically the most recent native people settling in South Africa, are now spread over the whole country

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Environment and Culture

The possibilities of exploitation this region offers to people lacking the highly-developed technical equipment of modern European civilization vary considerably. The ways in which the Bushmen and Hottentots utilize the natural resources of their surroundings will be discussed in some detail in later chapters. Here a rapid survey may be made of the factors conditioning the distribution and mode of life generally of the natives inhabiting the country.[1]

The most important consideration naturally is water. Animal and plant life are there in sufficient quantity to support human existence, provided a supply of water is near. Man in his primitive condition is dependent entirely on surface water for the satisfaction of his needs, for he has not the means now possessed by civilized man for getting at the water in the depths below. The amount of surface water therefore determines the density of population in any one area, and the water available in a given area, together with the density of the vegetation, determines the number and size of the settlements in that area.

The character of the country, moreover, limits at once the types of culture that can become indigenous there. South Africa even under modern conditions can only carry on agriculture in certain parts, and most of the country could never support a primitive population of pure agriculturists. It is only in the well-watered districts to the north and east and along the south coast that native agriculture has been developed to any extent. On the other hand, there is an abundant fauna and a sufficiency of vegetable life to afford good subsistence to men. The type of culture then that we would *a priori* expect to find here would be one based largely on hunting and collecting. This is exactly what we do find. The abundance of game formerly existing in South Africa makes it readily comprehensible that hunting at one time played a great role in all parts of the country, and therefore that hunting peoples were distributed all over its surface. All the native peoples of South Africa, whatever other means of subsistence they have, rely to some extent at least for food on the products of the chase and on the edible bulbs and roots of the veld.

A country, however, which can support great numbers of buck

[1] For special discussions of the South African environment in relation to man, cf. Passarge, op. cit., pp. 162–75; *idem*, "Die Grundlinien im ethnographischen Bilde der Kalahari-Region," *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 20–36, 68–88; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), pp. 14–28.

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and other grass and herb-eating animals will also support other species of these animals, provided that conditions such as the absence of the tsetse fly and other pests are favourable. Hence we also find pastoral tribes, who have come in from other regions bringing with them great herds of cattle and immense flocks of sheep and goats. One important point must, however, be noticed. Country which, under modern farming conditions, will only carry a small herd of cattle, sheep, and goats, used formerly to carry large herds of well-fed antelopes and zebras. The explanation is that each wild species is specially adapted to living on certain bushes or plants, and that many natural foodstuffs useless to farm stock were made use of by one species or another of wild game. It must also be remembered that the wild game was not restricted by farm boundaries; it was free to shift its ground according to the seasons and the supplies of food and water. For the same reasons a nomadic life was imposed on the native tribes keeping domestic animals, although nowadays with the extension of the European settlements the areas over which free movement is possible have become greatly restricted.

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Viewed in this light, the natural regions of South Africa which have been described above are seen to differ widely in their value for culture. Certain parts of the country, such as the Namib desert strip and the interior of Bushmanland, are largely uninhabitable. The rainfall in both is exceedingly slight, and there is practically no surface water all the year round. In parts of the Namib, however, the river-courses from the mountains of the South-West African plateau periodically carry water, which is dammed up in a few places by rocky outcrops in the river beds, and above all there is the *!naras* melon, whose fruit is sufficiently succulent to provide a substitute for water. Agriculture is completely out of the question. The thin scattered population which the region can support is forced to lead a nomadic hunting life, although in the east, towards the borders of the plateau, the grass which flourishes during the rainy season occasionally permits of pastoralism.

The greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari lacks surface water during the dry season only. The water supply at other times is generally sufficient to permit of temporary settlements, although the porous sand covering of the surface absorbs all the rainfall, so that except in the pans and other waterholes the standing water rapidly disappears. The region is sparsely inhabited, and mostly by nomadic peoples. Agriculture is again impossible, save in a few tracts to the

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east, where the soil is more favourable, but the rainfall is too uncertain to enable grain to be grown with a reasonable prospect of success. The abundance of grass in many parts, especially during the rainy season, affords good pasture to cattle, but the region is above all an excellent hunting ground, and formerly at least it was extraordinarily rich in game. Hence its inhabitants are in the first place hunting peoples, and their life is conditioned by the movements of the game. At the beginning of the rainy season the animals wander out of the permanently-watered regions encircling the desert into its sandy plains, where water is found only in pans, pools, and waterholes. The hunters follow them. As the dry season sets in and the water in the pans begins to shrink, part of the game returns to the watered regions, part of it, however, continues to live in the plains on the *tsama* melons and other succulent plants—and the hunters do the same.

In the well-watered Northern Kalahari three great streams, the Okavango, Kwando, and Zambesi, overflow on to the flat land, in some parts continuously, in others periodically, and thus give rise to an extensive region of swamps. This marshy region is excellent hunting and fishing ground. Its population, more numerous and densely settled than in the rest of the Kalahari, is therefore primarily concerned with these two pursuits. The natives indeed are actually forced to resort in part to fishing, since for motives of security they live mainly on the small islands between the swamps and the rivers. The periodic rise of the rivers annually floods wide stretches of the country, resulting in displacements and wanderings of the game. Consequently, the natives also must roam, partly because their habitations are flooded out, partly because they must follow the animals. Both agriculture and pastoralism are also carried out in parts of the country. The cattle pasture in the sandveld away from the swamps, while the marshy region can only be used for the cultivation of crops, since for wide stretches it is infested by the tsetse.

The upland regions encircling the Kalahari basin on the south-east, south, and west, have for the most part a scanty rainfall. The permanent settlement of this belt during the dry season is therefore restricted to the scattered waterholes, which occur in river beds, on mountain slopes or in depressions on the hard soil. Waterless stretches from 40 to 100 miles in extent are no rarity, so that the settlements are frequently distributed far apart over the land. Here, as in other regions of South Africa, hunting must depend on the movements of

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the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

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Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and